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# THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## THE RISE OF SPORT

No people has passed through greater changes in a single lifetime than did Americans in the generation which saw the closing of the old frontier. Social groups that had been nearly homogeneous were broken up, and out of them were selected and combed specialized industrial colonies to be moved to town and driven before the machinery of economic change. The fathers of this generation had been a sober lot, unable often to bend without a break, living a life of rigid and puritanical decorum, interspersed perhaps with disease and drunkenness but unenlivened, for most of them, by spontaneous play. When Barnum started upon his long career as showman in 1835 he introduced Joice Heth, "nurse of General George Washington" and now "arrived at the astonishing age of 161 years;" but he was careful to add that she had been "a member of the Baptist church for upwards of one hundred years" and took pleasure in the conversation of the clergy.<sup>1</sup> Amusement was under suspicion of wickedness unless disguised as instruction; and sport was hard to find.

"I idled away the morning on Mr. Daniel Greenleaf's wharf," wrote Charles Francis Adams in his diary in 1843, after playing with his boys for a few hours; "perhaps this consumption of time is scarcely justifiable; but why not take some of life for simple enjoyments, provided that they interfere with no known duty?"<sup>2</sup> A few years later the genial Autocrat

<sup>1</sup> *New York Transcript*, August 8, 1835, advertisement, p. 3. The attempts to expose this hoax are in the *New York Herald*, September 8, 13, 1836, and are commented on in various editions of the Barnum autobiography. Phineas T. Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum* (New York, 1885); *Struggles and triumphs* (1873), 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915, an autobiography, with a memorial address*

scolded at a portion of his fellow-countrymen: "I am satisfied that such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our Atlantic cities never before sprang from loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage. . . . We have a few good boatmen, no good horsemen that I hear of, nothing remarkable, I believe, in cricketing, and as for any great athletic feat performed by a gentleman in these latitudes, society would drop a man who should run around the Common in five minutes."<sup>3</sup> Farther south, or farther west, if an Adams had criticized himself or a Holmes his neighbour, the showing might, in spots, have been less doleful; but neither in east nor west did America esteem the human body.<sup>4</sup> "The taste for athletic sports in America is not over fifteen years old," wrote a shrewd observer in 1869.<sup>5</sup> In 1886 some of our journals could still find "news" in Dr. Peabody's baccalaureate upon the text, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."<sup>6</sup> But before the boys who heard this sermon reached middle life their world had changed.

On the first of March, 1909, there gathered in the White House without rebuke—almost without comment—a group selected not for purposes of state but for play alone.<sup>7</sup> An ambassador was there, a scout, a scientist, a soldier, and even a president of the United States, who addressed his guests as "men with whom at tennis, or hunting, or riding, or walking, or boxing, I have played; with whom I have been on the round-up, or in the mountains, or in the ranch country." Proctor's stealthy cougar, in bronze,<sup>8</sup> that the "tennis cabinet"<sup>9</sup> left behind them for their

*delivered November 17, 1915, by Henry Cabot Lodge (Boston and New York, 1916), 12.*

<sup>3</sup> Oliver W. Holmes in *Atlantic monthly*, May, 1858, p. 881.

<sup>4</sup> In *Sports and pastimes, a magazine of amusements for all seasons* (Boston, Adams and company), croquet, ring toss, angling, embroidery, and card and question games are described in July, 1871; and in April, 1875, dialogues, cricket, pet rabbits, magnetism, and "Silent Sam, the conjuror."

<sup>5</sup> *The Nation*, September 2, 1869, p. 188, made this assertion while commenting upon the Harvard-Oxford boat race which had just been rowed.

<sup>6</sup> *New York Tribune*, June 21, 1886, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, March 2, 1909, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography* (New York, 1913), 48.

<sup>9</sup> There is a photograph of the famous White House tennis court, in use, in *Harper's Weekly*, March 6, 1909, p. 13; and another of the White House offices built on the same site by President Taft in *ibid.*, November 27, 1909, p. 30.

host, was a fair type of the new work and the newer play; of the art of Frederic Remington and the tales of Owen Wister, of a generation that had appraised the spiritual values of its play and that had settled itself into a new environment. Today a president dismisses an ambassador and goes off to golf, with all approving,

“And, while studying closely his putts, to explore  
The obscurity shrouding the roots of the war.”<sup>10</sup>

So late as Arthur’s day a vacation trip to the Rockies was a luxury, if not an indiscretion.

The various stages in that disappearance of the frontier that brought one American cycle to an end have been portrayed by various scholars, and Mr. Turner’s part in that portrayal is, perhaps, the most distinguished feat in American historical scholarship in the last half century. The free lands were used up. The cow country rose and fell. The social safety valve was screwed down. But the explosion did not come. The reason for continued bearable existence under the increasing pressure generated in industrial society cannot yet be seen from all its sides; but one side is already clear: a new safety valve was built upon the new society. The rumblings and premonitory tremblings were not followed by disaster. The strikes of 1877 seemed to many to presage a revolution, and the anarchistic riots of 1886 appeared to be the first blow. But American society learned to give instead of crack. Perhaps its sense of humor helped to save. *Puck* began in 1877 its career as weekly emollient, cartoonists multiplied in every editorial shop, and *Life* in 1883 found it possible to combine knight-errantry and humor. Mark Twain was at his crest of popularity; not yet a sage, but always sane. Saved by its temper from immediate explosion, American society went to work to provide new outlets.

Between the first race for the America’s cup in 1851 and the first American aeroplane show of February last, the safety valve of sport was designed, built, and applied. Between the organization of the oldest of the major leagues—the National league of baseball clubs—in 1876, and the earliest golf tourna-

<sup>10</sup> *Punch*, January 31, 1917, p. 75.

ment in the United States, in 1894, the progress and development were rapid. Between the first meet of the League of American wheelmen in 1880, and the first national tournament of the United States lawn tennis association in 1881, on one hand, and the interdict launched in 1888 by the amateur athletic union against amateurs who dared participate in unauthorized games or meets, the growing pains of a society which was entering almost monthly upon a new pastime were mingled with the soreness of its muscles as it undertook, on ever broader scale, baseball, cricket, bicycling, tennis, and roller skating; polo, racing, coaching, field sports, and canoeing; gymnastics, curling, boxing, hunting, and archery. To enumerate them all would take the space of a sporting cyclopedia; to describe them all would emphasize the fact that in nearly every one wholesale participation and adoption came between the years of the centennial in Philadelphia and the world's fair in Chicago.<sup>11</sup> Together they constitute the rise of sport.

Spectators' sports found lodgment in American society earlier than did those in which participation is the price of enjoyment. Racing and boxing can be traced through the first years of the republic with a train of admirers behind each champion. In his old age Diomed, who had won the initial Derby at Epsom Downs, in 1780, came to America<sup>12</sup> to breed a great family of racing horses on a Virginia stock farm; other victors followed him to reinvigorate the strain, and from time to time Americans aroused one side of national pride as they endeavored to grasp the Derby stakes. Iroquois did this at last in 1881, for Pierre Lorillard,<sup>13</sup> his owner; and in 1907 Richard Croker's Kentucky bred Orby<sup>14</sup> did it again. Racing that could produce such finest flowers developed an American establishment that grew almost beyond control.

The opening of the American jockey club<sup>15</sup> at Jerome park, on

<sup>11</sup> Gladys Miller, *Certain aspects of organized recreations in the United States, 1876-1889* (Master's thesis, university of Wisconsin, 1916).

<sup>12</sup> Edward Spencer, "The classic English Derby," in *Outing*, June, 1902, p. 292; Francis Trevelyan, "Status of the American turf," in *ibid.*, March, 1892, p. 469.

<sup>13</sup> *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 18, 1881, p. 263; July 9, pp. 319, 321.

<sup>14</sup> Photographs of Orby, Richard Crocker his owner, and "the foremost racing event of the world," in *Outing*, September, 1907, pp. 727-732.

<sup>15</sup> Francis Trevelyan, "The American turf. The race-courses of the east," in *Outing*, May, 1892, p. 129.

the old Bathgate farm at Fordham in 1866, was an epoch for the American turf.<sup>16</sup> Through the next decade it seemed as though the horse were coming to own America. Trotting for the humbler at the county fairs, and running races over the great courses near the cities, drew mighty audiences. But the spectators who had made possible this high exploitation killed it in the end. The gamblers and the cheap sports brought racing into disrepute, and before the Coney Island jockey club<sup>17</sup> held its inaugural meeting in 1879 the game was outlawed by conservative society. Yet its evil profits kept it alive during the eighties—through six hundred and one races run in the vicinity of New York in ninety-five days in 1888<sup>18</sup>—until at last the legislature and the constitution<sup>19</sup> were invoked against it. But Maud S. and her successors,<sup>20</sup> and Nancy Hanks before her pneumatic-tired sulky,<sup>21</sup> made a place in the American imagination that called for something else to fill it when the race course had run through its day.

Trotting and racing had gathered their crowds and stirred the blood, but they produced no sentimental symbol equal to the America's cup, with which, wrote Caspar Whitney, "there is no trophy in all the world of sport to compare . . . in point of age or distinction."<sup>22</sup> The American clipper ship knew no superior in the forties of the last century,<sup>23</sup> and one of its fleet took away the queen's cup from Cowes and the royal yacht squadron<sup>24</sup> in the year of the London exposition, 1851.<sup>25</sup> This

<sup>16</sup> *New York Herald*, September 26, 1866, p. 7, devotes three columns to the opening of the club, comparing its equipment with that of Ascot, Epsom, and Longchamps.

<sup>17</sup> *Coney Island jockey club, 1879* (pamphlet), gives an account of this new venture. Coney Island had now become famous as a New York resort, having been "discovered" about 1874 by William A. Engeman. *New York World*, January 12, 1884. The Ocean Parkway drive from Brooklyn was completed late in 1876.

<sup>18</sup> *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 27, 1888, p. 167.

<sup>19</sup> Betting rings were abolished by the New York constitution of 1894.

<sup>20</sup> E. T. Riddick, "Robert Bonner's stock farm," in *Harper's Weekly*, July 23, 1892, p. 709.

<sup>21</sup> There is a cut of this sulky in *Outing*, October, 1892, appendix 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Outing*, November, 1907, p. 237.

<sup>23</sup> A. J. Kenealy, "The New York yacht club, a sea-dog's yarn of fifty years," in *Outing*, August, 1894, p. 388.

<sup>24</sup> *New York Daily Tribune*, September 8, 1851; *New York Evening Post*, September 9, 1851.

<sup>25</sup> A. J. Kenealy, "The racers for the America's cup," in *Outing*, August, 1893, p. 381.

feat quickened a nation's feelings on either side of the Atlantic, though no challenger came to America to take it back for nineteen years. Then, with the *Cambria* in 1870 a series of adventurers began to seek the trophy guarded by the New York yacht club, its custodian.<sup>26</sup> On the eve of the great war, Sir Thomas Lipton was arranging for the fourth time to try to take the prize. Dunraven had preceded him; and him the *Thistle* (1887), and the *Galatea* (1886), and the *Genesta* (1885), and the *Atlanta* (1881), and the *Countess of Dufferin* (1876), and the *Livonia* (1871), in a gallant succession of vain attempts. Four times in the eighties and thrice each in the seventies and nineties did the autumn races off New York renew the interest, with an ever-widening circle acquainted with the skipper, learned on the points of sail and beam, and ready to debate measurement, centerboard, or keel. And in the intervals between the races they could turn to wrangle over the prospects for Richard Fox's diamond belt.

This diamond belt was designed to adorn the heavyweight champion of the world, and was the donation of Richard K. Fox, editor of the *Police gazette*. It followed a precedent that had, in another sport, uncovered the financial possibilities behind the promotion of great spectacles. All through the seventies there had been occasional matches between professional long-distance pedestrians; but these had grown into disrepute through the quarrels of promoters and the trials of referees, who fell foul of the question, What is a walk? In a single issue, in 1879, the *New York Sun* noted that Miss Lulu Loomer, clad in black silk tunic and sky blue hose, was walking 3000 quarter miles in 3000 quarter hours in a public hall; that Van Ness and Belden were at work on a six-days' race in the Fifth regiment armory; and that in Cooper hall, Jersey City, a similar test was under way.<sup>27</sup>

Sir John Astley had already tried to reduce pedestrian chaos to matters of record by offering, in 1878, a purse of £500 and a championship belt worth £100 more to the winner of a six-days'

<sup>26</sup> R. F. Coffin, "History of American yachting," in *Outing*, August, 1886, p. 509. The New York yacht club was now established at Clifton, S. I., and was conducting regular regattas and fleet cruises in American waters. *Ibid.*, p. 402.

<sup>27</sup> *New York Sun*, February 10, 1879.

test, go-as-you-please. In the Agricultural hall at Islington this was first walked off and won by one O'Leary, a Chicago Irishman, already well-known, who now established a six-day record of five hundred and twenty miles.<sup>28</sup> The trophy was contested again in October, 1878, and three times in the following year. An English walker named Rowell captured it in March, 1879; Edward Payson Weston, an American, took it from him in the following June, and defended it in Madison Square Garden for six days in the following September.<sup>29</sup> Weston had raised the record to five hundred and fifty miles, but Rowell won back the belt this time in a field of thirteen contestants. No new record was made, but for the whole week crowds gathered round the course to smoke and bet and encourage the various entries, and similar contests continued to draw their throngs for many years. Only recently Weston, hearty still on his seventy-first birthday,<sup>30</sup> walked from New York to San Francisco in one hundred days, though the Astley belt has left the sporting recollection.

The Fox diamond belt indicates a revival of the manly art after two decades of well-deserved oblivion. The last great fight that Americans of the centennial decade could remember was fought in a meadow at Farnboro, near London, for thirty-six rounds, on April 17, 1860. Here Heenan, the American, and Sayers, the English champion, fought to a draw in a turf ring, with twenty-one London "pugs" as ring keepers, who let the ring break in before the American could knock out his opponent.<sup>31</sup>

The recollection of the Heenan-Sayers fight endured through years when pugilists failed to hit each other, until a new slugger with a genius for advertising appeared within the ring. This was John L. Sullivan, born in Boston in 1858, who emerged as a driving fighter about 1881. In February, 1882, he won from Paddy Ryan the title of champion of America,<sup>32</sup> and for the next

<sup>28</sup> *New York Herald*, March 18, 24, 1878, September 22, 1879.

<sup>29</sup> *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, September 22, 1879.

<sup>30</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, March 27, 1909, p. 31.

<sup>31</sup> *New York Herald*, April 29, 1860, describes this fight.

<sup>32</sup> The younger Bennett, consistently interested in racing, polo, yachting, and other sports, made the *New York Herald* the best source for sporting news in this period. Sketches of Sullivan are given in the issues for January 30 and February 8, 1882, and July 9, 1889.

ten years was as popular a sporting character as the world possessed. The leather football that Mike Donovan,<sup>33</sup> boxing instructor of the New York athletic club, had adapted to new use as a punching bag spread its vogue once it had trained this champion.<sup>34</sup> Audiences repeatedly crowded Madison Square Garden when Sullivan was announced to box, and the paragraphers treasured his words uttered in his cups or sober. "The worship of brute force," wailed Leslie's newspaper, had filled the boxing schools of New York. "Let prize-fighters be once more regarded as outlaws, and not as public 'entertainers,'"<sup>35</sup> it urged; but when Sullivan went to England in 1887, he and Buffalo Bill and the Prince of Wales competed on easy terms for space.

The reluctance of fighters to fight was well dispelled by 1887. In this year Jake Kilrain fought Jem Smith for one hundred and six rounds in France, but only to a draw which left the ownership of the new diamond belt in doubt, since this was offered for a finish fight.<sup>36</sup> Sullivan, who had been boxing to huge audiences in the English music halls, and who had been received by the Prince of Wales,<sup>37</sup>—much, it is said, to the mortification of the queen, then celebrating her jubilee,—trained now at Windsor, and in March, 1888, fought Charley Mitchell to a thirty-six round draw near Chantilly. It was a single-handed bout, for the American broke his right arm in the fifth round, and could only defend himself with his left for the rest of the fight.<sup>38</sup> "There is hardly a more disreputable ruffian now breathing than this same Sullivan," commented the *New York Tribune*, "but with all his brutality, his coarseness, and his vices, he certainly is not

<sup>33</sup> Mike Donovan, "How to punch the ball," in *Outing*, April, 1902, p. 54.

<sup>34</sup> A New York correspondent, after a visit to Sullivan's training quarters, described the superiority of the "leather football" over the sand pillow formerly used. *New York Herald*, January 29, 1882, p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, March 31, 1883, p. 86; November 29, 1884, p. 227.

<sup>36</sup> *New York Herald*, December 20, 1887; *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1887.

<sup>37</sup> *New York Sun*, December 10, 1887; *New York Tribune*, December 26, 1887; *New York Herald*, January 5, 1888. John Boyle O'Reilly asserted that "skill in pugilism has always been coincident with political freedom." *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1887.

<sup>38</sup> "John L. Sullivan . . . has faced his last opponent in the ring, and it is doubtful if he will ever again do the knocking out act." *New York Herald*, March 12, 1888, p. 4.

afraid of meeting any living man with bare fists."<sup>39</sup> Early in 1889 he and Kilrain agreed to fight for \$20,000, the title, and the belt; and this time there was no draw, for Sullivan battered his way to a knockout at Richburg, Mississippi, on July 8.<sup>40</sup> They talked of running him for congress on the democratic ticket now; but he went on a boxing tour to Australia instead, and came back to lose his title to a new winner, James J. Corbett, in 1892.

How Corbett's science won the title and maintained it until Robert Fitzsimmons ended his reign; how Fitzsimmons was finally worsted by Jim Jeffries; and he by Johnson, and he in turn by Willard would bring the boxing story down to date. But none of his successors has equalled Sullivan in his popular appeal, and it was his gold-mounted rabbit's foot, for luck, that Colonel Roosevelt carried through his African trip in 1909.<sup>41</sup> Sport had a new appeal to the city crowds of the eighties, and the promoters catered to it. The periodic crises of the races and the fights were interspersed by the meetings of the national game, baseball.

The major leagues and the shoal of minor leagues that today control the formal side of baseball, with permanent million dollar parks,<sup>42</sup> with a president of the United States to throw the first ball of a season, with over seven million paid admissions to the major leagues alone within a single year,<sup>43</sup> represent an institution that is far removed from the game of ball as it was played by a few private clubs after the Mexican war, and from the earliest of its organizations, the national association of baseball players, of 1858.<sup>44</sup> It seems to have been the civil war that brought potential nines together and nationalized the game. Men who might have joined the militia regiments for exercise or

<sup>39</sup> December 30, 1887, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 8, 1889; *Idaho Avalanche*, July 13, 1889; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 9, 1889.

<sup>41</sup> *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography*, 46.

<sup>42</sup> Shibe Park, the home of the Athletics, and the grounds of the Pirates at Pittsburgh, both opened in 1909, are good specimens of the modern equipment. *Harper's Weekly*, May 1, 2, 1909.

<sup>43</sup> Arthur B. Reeve, "What America spends for sport," in *Outing*, December, 1910, p. 300.

<sup>44</sup> H. C. Palmer, J. A. Fynes, F. Richter, and W. I. Harris, *Athletic sports in America, England, and Australia* (1889), 26.

recreation before the war played baseball around the cities, after it. The Cincinnati Red Stockings, a strictly professional team, discovered the financial possibilities of the game in 1869. A national association of professional baseball players emerged in 1871, but its base of organization was faulty, and no financially successful scheme appeared for five years more.<sup>45</sup>

In February, 1876, William A. Hulbert of Chicago, and A. G. Spalding, a prominent professional of Boston, having signed up a strong team for the approaching season made a workable machine for the furtherance of their profits and the game. At the Grand Central hotel, in New York, they organized the National league of baseball clubs, the parent league of today, with eight member teams: Boston, Hartford, Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, the Mutuals (New York), and the Athletics (Philadelphia).<sup>46</sup> The transition from an association of players to a league or partnership of managers, gave a firm basis to the sport. It was, indeed, only a spectators' sport. With only changes in detail the scheme continues workable. A second league branched off in 1882 as the American association; a Federal league and various brotherhoods or fraternities have followed it. But baseball as a producer's business in the larger cities has not been shaken. Spalding's Chicago team won the pennant year after year. The pitched ball changed from a toss to a throw, an arsenal of mitts, shields, and masks evolved, and in 1888-1889 Spalding's baseball tour around the world introduced the full-grown national game to other countries.<sup>47</sup> The umpire became a recognized butt for the comic papers. And at last the sedate editor of the *Atlantic monthly almanac*, confident that all his readers can understand the lingo, adorns the opening baseball date of 1917 with the alleged oriental maxim, "There are no fans in Hell."

Baseball succeeded as an organized spectators' sport, but it did also what neither racing nor boxing could do in turning the city lot into a playground and the small boy into an enthusiastic

<sup>45</sup> Albert G. Spalding, *America's national game; historic facts concerning the beginning, evolution, development and popularity of baseball, with personal reminiscences of its vicissitudes, victories, and its votaries* (New York, 1911), 64.

<sup>46</sup> The text of the call for this meeting, and an account of its transactions are in the *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1876.

<sup>47</sup> "The return of the ball players," in *Harper's Weekly*, April 6, 1889, p. 226.

player. The cigarette pictures of leading players that small boys of the eighties collected by scores indicate at once their interests and their naughty habits. Like cricket in England, baseball became a game for everyone.

Cricket, indeed, had been played around Boston and New York and chiefly Philadelphia, since the English factory hands had brought it to Kensington and Germantown in the middle forties. The late Dr. S. Weir Mitchell remembered to have played a full-fledged game in 1845;<sup>48</sup> and ever after this there was at least one Newhall to play in Philadelphia,<sup>49</sup> and a growing list of cricket clubs. From time to time an inter-city game enlivened the mild sport; then a visit from Canadian players; then an imported English team that with eleven ordinary veterans could retire an American team of twenty-two without batting out its second innings. But in September, 1885,<sup>50</sup> though cricket was "still an exotic in the United States," a team of eleven Philadelphians beat eleven Britishers for the first time at their own game. The interest of the spectator was being translated into proficiency in sport.

Indoors and out-of-doors city growth and changing habits lured more men to exercise. The notion of participation for the fun there was in it, or for the physical advantage entailed, was more widely spread before the civil war than the existing records would indicate; but it was scant enough. The Young men's christian association, an importation of the early fifties, had begun to group its charges and to see the various sides of the new problem they raised. Their city buildings, undertaken in the later sixties, included room for gymnasiums<sup>51</sup> as well as chapels and class rooms; and their directors taught gymnastics, upon a basis resembling that of the German immigrants, exhibited through their turner societies a dozen years before.

Father Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and his gymnastic educational

<sup>48</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, September 22, 1894, p. 908.

<sup>49</sup> The numerous Newhall brothers, famous in cricket annals, are described in *ibid.*, June 22, 1889, p. 495.

<sup>50</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, September 18-21, 1885.

<sup>51</sup> *Physical education in the Young men's christian associations of North America* (1914), p. 5. An International training school for directors was organized in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1885, while a series of annual conferences of the association of general secretaries was continuous from 1871. *Louisville Commercial*, May 6, 11, 1893.

revival had done much for German nationalism and democracy before the revolutionary movements of 1848 brought it under suspicion and drove many of its leaders into more or less involuntary exile. Into America the Germans came with common resentments and with familiarity with this bond that might hold them together and cheer their hearts as they struggled against nativistic critics in a strange land.<sup>52</sup> Singing, playing, exercising, drinking their beer together on Sunday evenings, they had immediately started turner societies and had formed a turnerbund with more than one hundred and fifty member societies before the civil war.<sup>53</sup> Many of these societies marched to the front with ranks almost untouched by failure to enlist, and more than one German regiment paid for shelter and hospitality with all it had to give. In the winter of 1864-1865 the league reorganized as the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund,<sup>54</sup> and since that day its athletic festivals and congresses have at once broadened the influence of comradeship and kept the German-Americans in contact with their common past. A team of Milwaukee turners invaded the fatherland in 1880 and carried off the trophies of a general meet at Frankfort-on-Main;<sup>55</sup> while the twenty-third festival at St. Louis<sup>56</sup> opened the next year with 20,000 people on the fair ground.

The growing wealth of cities, the appearance of a class of men with leisure, and the consequences of sedentary life could not have failed to develop organized provision for play nor to induce young men to start athletic clubs in increasing numbers. The greatest of the clubs was organized in 1868 in New York, and rented a field for athletic games that soon gave fame to Mott Haven, on the Harlem river. This was the New York athletic club,<sup>57</sup> whose growth and expansion would alone illustrate and typify nearly the whole of modern sport. For almost

<sup>52</sup> Marion D. Learned, *The German-American turner lyric* (Baltimore, 1897), 40.

<sup>53</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, September 20, 1890, p. 734.

<sup>54</sup> Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des [Nordamerikanischen] Turner-Bunds* (Indianapolis, 1874), 85; *New York Tribune*, September 12, 16, 1864; *New York Herald*, April 6, 1865.

<sup>55</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 11, 1880.

<sup>56</sup> *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 25, 1881, pp. 281, 283, gives sketches of the festival; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, June 6, 1881.

<sup>57</sup> *Memorial history of New York*, edited by J. G. Wilson, 4: 258; S. C. Foster, "The New York athletic club," in *Outing*, September, 1884, p. 403.

twenty years it flourished on the stern diet of athletics, and only athletics. Its boathouse, its track, and its field became the center of general sport, while at its various annual games young athletes accumulated records that ought to have gladdened the heart of Dr. Holmes.

In 1876, after the New York athletic club had held its own seventh annual spring meet, it devised a novelty and held the first open amateur handicap field meeting in America.<sup>58</sup> Already the Intercollegiate athletic association had been organized to regulate the play of college boys, and had conducted its first games at Saratoga.<sup>59</sup> But the New York open games represented a new principle possible only because sport was becoming universal, and necessary because definitions and standards were so unsettled as to imperil sport itself. Out of these open games there grew, under the patronage of the New York athletic club, the National association of amateur athletics of America, an organization without a plant of its own, and aspiring to govern sport. In 1888, after a dispute in this association,<sup>60</sup> from which the New York athletic club had withdrawn its countenance, and which the Intercollegiate athletic association was ready to desert,<sup>61</sup> the greatest of the Philadelphia clubs, the Athletic club of the Schuylkill navy, took steps to create the Amateur athletic union.<sup>62</sup> The new union held a first meet at Detroit in September, 1888,<sup>63</sup> and was a success from the beginning. In its first summer, August 25, 1888, it faced the country courageously,—insolently, some thought,—and resolved that any amateur participating in unauthorized games should thereby disqualify himself as entry in games controlled by the Ama-

<sup>58</sup> On July 29, 1876. *New York Herald*, July 16, 30, 1876.

<sup>59</sup> Intercollegiate rowing, since the Harvard-Oxford race, had become a mild “mania.” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, July 15, 1876, p. 302. On the day after the annual Saratoga regatta, July 20, 1876, the Intercollegiate athletic association held its meet. *New York Herald*, June 17, July 21, 1876.

<sup>60</sup> The Manhattan athletic club organized as a rival to the New York athletic club in 1878, was special patron of the National association of amateur athletics of America in its later years, and occupied an imposing house at Madison avenue and Forty-fifth street between 1890 and 1893. *New York Sun*, February 19, 1893.

<sup>61</sup> The resolutions embodying this desertion are in *Outing*, April, 1889, appendix, 1; June, 1889, appendix, 32.

<sup>62</sup> The details of the breach are in *Outing*, November, 1888, p. 168, January, 1889, p. 363.

<sup>63</sup> *New York Herald*, September 20, 1888.

teur athletic union.<sup>64</sup> This union and other governing bodies are still defining the amateur and adjusting the terms of his competitions; but this interdict of the athletic protestant,—or infidel,—is a high mark in the rising tide.

Long before the Amateur athletic union had been conceived, its parent outgrew its primitive athletic plant and, stimulated by its own needs and the rivalry of eager imitators, had come into town with a great athletic club house. In 1885, with William R. Travers as president and Herman Oelrichs as financial backer, the New York athletic club opened its own building at Sixth avenue and Fifty-fifth street; three years later it opened a country home on Travers Island; and in 1896 it moved up Sixth avenue to a larger city palace on Fifty-ninth street.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile its development had been paralleled in Philadelphia by the Athletic club of the Schuylkill navy, whose rowing had grown into general athletics and produced the Arch street club house in 1889.<sup>66</sup> In Boston the athletic club boasted among its members Henry L. Higginson and John Boyle O'Reilly, and opened modern quarters in 1888.<sup>67</sup> In Chicago the building on Michigan avenue was regarded as the last word in athletic architecture when it opened in 1893.<sup>68</sup> In smaller towns and among poorer athletes, where marble palaces were out of question, where the Young men's christian association or the turnverein or the local school or college might be the agency, the athletic club was extending its stimulation deep into the social body.

The increasing organization of sport tells one side of the story; the invention of new activities the other. The mechanical genius of one Plimpton, about 1863,<sup>69</sup> made roller skating possible and bred a mania that first infected Australia, then Europe, then America, and that raged, an intermittent epidemic, for a generation. Tools of the game were cheap; skill was not hard to acquire; but the rinks in which to skate controlled the sport. The Brooklyn rink, long to be famous as a political

<sup>64</sup> The meeting that passed this resolution was held in the house of the New York athletic club. *Outing*, October, 1888, p. 81.

<sup>65</sup> M. W. Ford, "The New York athletic club," in *Outing*, December, 1898, p. 247.

<sup>66</sup> *New York Times*, September 23, 1889.

<sup>67</sup> *New York Herald*, December 30, 1888.

<sup>68</sup> *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 16, 1893.

<sup>69</sup> *Annual cyclopaedia and register of important events of the year 1884* (New York), 737.

meeting place, was opened in 1877. On the future site of the Auditorium hotel, Chicago had one in 1880; and A. G. Spalding opened another in the same city in 1884.<sup>70</sup> There was a great Olympia rink in New York, on Fifty-third street, in 1885. At this time, according to one estimate, there was \$20,000,000 of skating rink property in America,<sup>71</sup> and the capacity of these was supplemented many fold by the new concrete sidewalks and the asphalt pavements that invited the small boy to "hitch behind" and risk his neck. A six-day skating race in New York in 1885 produced a record of 1,090 miles.<sup>72</sup> Women and girls adopted the pastime, while their elders "viewed with alarm" the demoralization of the growing generation. Boxwood, the material for skate wheels, in the preferable three-inch growth, rose from thirty-eight to one hundred and twenty dollars a ton under the demand of manufacturers, and far-off Persia and Turkey, where this wood grew, benefited by the craze.<sup>73</sup>

Nearly twenty years before skating thus literally carried its devotees off their feet, another epidemic had "swept over our land," "the swiftest and most infectious" yet, croquet.<sup>74</sup> To the rules and definitions of this game the *Nation* devoted a long article in 1866. In England three years later, writes Alfred Austin, it was "in the heyday of its popularity."<sup>75</sup> Like roller skating, its paraphernalia was simple and readily set up anywhere, and as a courting game few have surpassed it. It produced in time its experts who, in 1879, gathered in Chicago at "the first national convention of croquet players ever held in this country,"<sup>76</sup> to debate "loose" against "tight" methods and to formulate its laws. Such a useless gathering, regretted the *Chicago Times*, was a "severe commentary upon our civilization;" but whether because of the prize tournament mallet offered by A. G. Spalding or because the game had merit of its own, croquet declined to disappear. At Norwich, Connecticut,

<sup>70</sup> *Spalding's manual of roller skating* (1884), 78; *Chicago Times*, May 18, 1864, p. 7.

<sup>71</sup> *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 18, 1885, p. 139.

<sup>72</sup> *New York Herald*, March 8, 1885.

<sup>73</sup> *Scientific American*, March 28, 1885, p. 200.

<sup>74</sup> *The Nation*, August 9, 1866, p. 113.

<sup>75</sup> Alfred Austin, *Autobiography of Alfred Austin, poet laureate, 1835-1910* (London, 1911), 2: 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Chicago Times*, September 24, 1879, pp. 4, 8.

the National croquet association built its tournament grounds, and here year after year a handful of persistent players reduced the game to one of nice skill, similar to nothing less than billiards.<sup>77</sup> And everywhere croquet, like roller skates, became part of the education of the child.

The wooden-wheeled, iron-tired "bone-shaker" bicycle of the civil war decade brought zest to life at yet another spot. Charles de Drais<sup>78</sup> had experimented with his "draisena" early in the century, and Pierre Lallement<sup>79</sup> had built and ridden a bicycle in Paris in 1863. Thereafter where roads and nerve permitted the old high bicycle gained its advocates and, with velocipede and tricycle, tempted even an occasional girl to learn to ride. A clipping from a scrap book of 1869 celebrates the early sporting girl:

But I am of the Yankee sort,  
A gutta-percha lady sport,  
Fair and tough, and fast and strong  
And hold to my paces all day long. . . .  
Stir the dust and take the shoot,  
Pantalettes and gaiter-boot.  
Houp la! houp la!—needn't try  
To find a lovelier wretch than I.

As the seventies advanced the bicycle became a tool of delicate grace, with a fifty-one inch wheel weighing thirty pounds,<sup>80</sup> although the general public still found interest in articles telling how to pronounce the word.<sup>81</sup> Colonel A. A. Pope, of Hartford, imported several of the English machines in 1878 and then began to build his own Columbia bicycles;<sup>82</sup> and here and there enthusiasts began to organize clubs to ride together, and even held their race meets by 1879. Riding academies multiplied,<sup>83</sup> often using armories or skating rinks, and park commissioners

<sup>77</sup> E. S. Martin in *The Nation*, September 3, 1898, p. 862.

<sup>78</sup> *Wheelman*, March, 1883, p. 460.

<sup>79</sup> Charles E. Pratt, "Pierre Lallement and his bicycle," in *Outing and the wheelman*, October, 1883, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Scientific American*, July 17, 1875, p. 39.

<sup>81</sup> *Cincinnati Commercial*, November 22, 1879.

<sup>82</sup> A. A. Pope, "The wheel," in *Wheelman*, October, 1882, p. 69; an early Columbia advertisement, with cut, is in *Christian union*, February 12, 1879, p. 168.

<sup>83</sup> *New York Sun*, January 2, 1880, p. 1, describes the opening of a new academy in the American institute building.

were exasperated by appeals to permit citizens astride their wheels to use the public drives. Horses started upon the long course of nervous education that the motor car has finished. And on May 31, 1880, there met at Newport delegates from twenty-nine bicycle clubs who there organized the League of American wheelmen and held their first parade.<sup>84</sup>

Bicycling is unique among the sports in the extent to which participation was on an individual basis and in the degree to which individuals joined in the national organization. The annual meets of the League of American wheelmen were of increasing interest for twenty years, both as sporting events with fast and furious racing, and as social gatherings to which members and their families went as for a sporting vacation. *Wheeling*, a monthly magazine, appeared as organ of the sport in 1882, and still continues, with enlarged scope, as *Outing*. Thomas Stevens crossed the continent a-wheel in 1884,<sup>85</sup> and soon after made his memorable trip recorded in *Around the world on a bicycle*.<sup>86</sup> There were supposed to be thirty thousand bicycles in the United States in 1885<sup>87</sup> and twelve thousand members of the league by 1889; and this while the old high wheel was the one most generally used.

The safety bicycle—chain driven, with wheels of equal size—appeared in the catalogs of 1887, and with the pneumatic rubber tire<sup>88</sup> that was soon devised, opened new worlds to be conquered. By 1898 the league had over one hundred thousand paying members<sup>89</sup> and women had taken their great step toward equal treatment by free participation with the men. After 1900 the league collapsed, but it had widened the effective radius of life, quickened sluggish blood for both sexes and all ages, and reawakened a love for out-of-doors that city dwellers had begun to lose.

Contemporary with wheeling was lawn tennis, fit for both

<sup>84</sup> *New York Tribune*, May 31, 1880; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 19, 1880, p. 261.

<sup>85</sup> His itinerary, via Humboldt valley, Laramie City, and the old Platte trail is in *Outing*, May, 1887, p. 187.

<sup>86</sup> Before appearing in book form, his journal ran as serial in *Outing*, October, 1885-June, 1888.

<sup>87</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1885, "Wheeling as a sport."

<sup>88</sup> W. T. Farwell, "The story of the tire," in *Outing*, January, 1913, p. 472.

<sup>89</sup> *Outing*, April, 1900, p. 95.

sexes, anywhere and at all ages, and invented at about the same time. In 1881 the United States lawn tennis association<sup>90</sup> was organized and held its first national tournament at Newport, under conditions resembling those which surrounded the Wimbledon grounds of the All England lawn tennis club, then five years old. The game was first played in America not earlier than 1875,<sup>91</sup> but its conquest was sweeping and complete. On private lawns, in newly-organized clubs, on the commons by the country school house, even on the unused side of at least one burying ground, the nets were stretched and the game begun. By 1890 the women had a national championship tournament of their own<sup>92</sup> and in another decade an American girl invaded England and there held her own against all comers. International matches were an annual feature of the game, and city, state, sectional, and national championships covered the country with their nets. Three hundred tournaments authorized<sup>93</sup> for 1916 by the United States lawn tennis association give a measure for the most perfect of the participating sports.

The love of outdoor sports, spreading each year into new regions and new classes worked on whatever materials it could find. Florida became a playground, opening its west coast to the rich in winter when the Plant system completed its line to Tampa in 1885.<sup>94</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, of an active family whose name is to be found in the initial lists of nearly every sport that I have seen, bought his ranch on the Little Missouri in the early eighties.<sup>95</sup> Here he rode the roundup and hunted outlaws, and less dangerous wild game, consciously building a frame to carry burdens. Here he saw the cow country in its final phase, and hence he went to write *The winning of the west*.

<sup>90</sup> Wright and Ditson's *Lawn tennis guide*, 1897, p. 18; *New York World*, May 22, 1881, p. 2.

<sup>91</sup> James Dwight, "Lawn tennis in New England," in *Outing*, May, 1891, p. 157.

<sup>92</sup> Miss Ellen C. Roosevelt won the first national championship on the Philadelphia cricket club grounds at Wissahickon. According to Alice Barber Stephens, as well as the illustrator for styles, girls played tennis in 1891 in long skirts, long sleeves, high collars, and trimmed hats. *Harper's bazaar*, June 6, 1891, p. 443, July 18, 1891, pp. 557, 559.

<sup>93</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, January 28, 1917, pt. 2, p. 1.

<sup>94</sup> With a connecting link in a steel steamer to run to Havana. *Chicago Tribune*, July 28, 1885; G. H. Smythe, *Henry Bradley Plant* (1898), 75.

<sup>95</sup> *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography*, 94.

In December, 1887, at a private dinner, he and his outdoor friends organized the Boone and Crockett club<sup>96</sup> for the study and conservation of big game, naming it for the great pathfinders for whom game was no luxury and hunting not a sport. The saving of the Yellowstone park<sup>97</sup> was one of the early public services of this club, the founding of the New York zoological society was another. The love of open country for hunting, camping, hiking, and the respect for common interests that all this entailed were not accidental products of our decade. They came directly from the swelling national interest.

Not every American could take time to hunt big game, or watch it, or to commune with remote nature, but the opportunity for something out of doors was demanded and provided. The rise of the country club is a feature of the later eighties. The institutions that were competent to grow into the country club where the environment was right for evolution were already provided. Here and there an older club could be made over. The old Staten Island cricket and baseball club built a new home with full outdoor equipment in 1886.<sup>98</sup> The Essex county hunt opened the Essex county country club in 1888.<sup>99</sup> The New York athletic club, always partially out-of-doors, finished its complete home and playground on Travers Island in the same year. A Boston country club, with grounds near Brookline, emerged from a racing group in 1887. But the country club that served as text for the most discussion was opened in 1886 on Pierre Lorillard's ancestral estate on Ramapo mountain under the control of the Tuxedo club.<sup>100</sup> At Tuxedo was a resident suburban colony club, where members could build their own cottages and use a club house more elaborate than the

<sup>96</sup> George Bird Grinnell, *Brief history of the Boone and Crockett club, with officers, constitution, and list of members for the year 1910* (New York [1911?]), 3.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>98</sup> C. E. Clay, "Staten Island cricket and baseball club," in *Outing*, November, 1887, p. 110; *New York Times*, July 5, 1886; *New York Herald*, July 6, 1886.

<sup>99</sup> At Hutton park on Orange mountain. *New York Tribune*, December 5, 1887, January 3, 1888; *New York Sun*, December 23, 1887; *New York Herald*, May 6, 13, 1888, gives a description of country clubs near New York.

<sup>100</sup> B. L. R. Dana, "An original social experiment—Tuxedo," in *Cosmopolitan*, October, 1899, p. 547; J. N. Smith, "The Tuxedo club," in *Munsey's*, November, 1891, p. 161; *Harper's Weekly*, December 18, 1886, p. 827; *New York World*, June 2, 1886.

old casino at Newport, and with "an aggressively English air" that suggested the country life of a society that wealthy Americans liked to imitate. It was socially exclusive and highly expensive, and novel enough to furnish paragraphs for many years. It represented one of the three clear types toward which the country clubs tended to standardize for thirty years.

"Fifteen years ago," wrote Robert Dunn in 1905, "country clubs seemed fads, were confined to the East, and associated with the somewhat un-American and unrelaxed atmosphere of what one hears called 'society,'" <sup>101</sup> but they served a need too broad to be so circumscribed. Some were the country toys of city men, who hurried out of town when work was done, who often slept at the club house, and who were as nearly unconscious of the local world around the grounds as possible. Such was Travers Island for the New York athletic club. Others became the foci for suburban colonies. Like Tuxedo, and in simpler imitations of it, their members chose to live and rear their children within walking and driving distance of the playground; and the ladies' club house and the junior annex became as important as the club itself. Still others were acclimated in the country towns, used without pretense, recruited with little or no parade of society or exclusion, and became as true an organ of local life as the high school or the board of commerce. The community of 20,000 without a country club became an anomaly requiring explanation.

The roots of country clubs sprang from the older games, and were strengthened by tennis and bicycling that widened their opportunity and their availability. But most of all they multiplied from the impetus given by a new game that must be played over the open country if at all, the royal game of golf.

The beginnings of the game of golf, with the leather ball <sup>102</sup> stuffed with feathers, are doubtless based "upon the desire of the Anglo-Saxon to arm himself with a stick and drive a small round body with it," <sup>103</sup> but they are lost in the antiquity that conceals, perhaps, the common parent of all games of ball. Old prints and casual references carry the game back for several

<sup>101</sup> "The country club," in *Outing*, November, 1905, p. 165.

<sup>102</sup> "The golf ball," in *Harper's Weekly*, April 8, 18, 89, p. 351.

<sup>103</sup> *The Nation*, August 26, 1869, p. 168.

centuries in England and Scotland,<sup>104</sup> but Americans are not known to have played it in the United States before the later eighties. A writer in *Harper's Weekly*, in 1891,<sup>105</sup> prophesied that it was likely to take foothold here, but had few facts of playing to produce. The nine hole course at Southampton, in the Shinnecock hills, was open to play in 1892,<sup>106</sup> while Mr. H. C. Chatfield-Taylor remembers to have played a game over a primitive private course at Lake Forest in the same year.<sup>107</sup> The attractions of the game distributed it from the cities out into the country, and middle age came into its own. The playing season of 1895 was memorable for the new courses over lumpy greens, and for the shoal of old clubs that added golf and new clubs that organized to play it. In Newport the casino acquired a healthy rival in the country club. Already, in 1894, five of the pioneer clubs had organized the United States golf association,<sup>108</sup> whose annual meetings and expanding membership brought the rules and players under firm control.<sup>109</sup> And the environs of the cities became embroidered with the turfs and costumes of the new adoption.

It would be easy to overstate the significance and influence of single factors in the change that has altered the old American life beyond recovery or reconstruction, but not the change itself. "The great development and wide diffusion and practice of athletic exercises among our people during the last quarter of a century (this diffusion taking place precisely among those classes where the need of it was greatest)," observed Colonel Roosevelt in 1893, "has been a very distinct advantage to our national type."<sup>110</sup> In proportion as inducement appeared for city

<sup>104</sup> *Country life in America*, May, 1902, p. 35; Andrew Lang discusses the history of the game in H. G. Hutchinson, *Golf* (Badminton library, 1902), 1.

<sup>105</sup> E. N. Lamont, "The royal game of golf," September 12, 1891, p. 695.

<sup>106</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, August 27, 1892, p. 832; cf. *Outing*, September, 1894, appendix, 173, October, 1894, appendix, 22, August 1898, p. 498.

<sup>107</sup> H. C. Chatfield-Taylor, "The development of golf in the west," in *Outing*, August, 1900, p. 531.

<sup>108</sup> The earliest American tournament was begun at St. Andrews, October 11, 1894. *New York Times*, October 12, 1894; *Outing*, August, 1895, appendix, 11, February, 1897, p. 502.

<sup>109</sup> For the case of Francis Ouimet against the United States golf association, see *Chicago Examiner*, January 14, 1917.

<sup>110</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, "Value of an athletic training," in *Harper's Weekly*, December 23, 1893, p. 1236.

folk to go afield mechanical devices speeded up their going. One decade saw the opening of the Brooklyn bridge, and the beginnings of the perennial fight for rapid transit; the next saw the electric trolley quicken the circulation on city streets and gladden the hearts of promoters of suburban real estate additions; the third is memorable for the extended use of motor cars.

Today there are a few of us who own no Ford, but all are rapidly forgetting the time two decades back when only experimental cars existed, when the debate between steam and gasoline was real, and when the horseless carriage was a carriage, not a car. In January, 1900, New York held its first American automobile show, following the several years' precedent of the bicycle shows. And since that time the physical habits of society have undergone a revolution. Part of this change is chronicled and photographed in *Country life in America*, appearing first in 1901; more of it is still a part of our unrecorded recollection. The body of man has been freed from the restrictions of space and time; his soul has occupied new realms of nature and of play. No earlier president<sup>111</sup> than Colonel Roosevelt would have denounced a tribe of "nature fakers,"<sup>112</sup> and no earlier generation would have cared or even understood.<sup>113</sup> Only the invention of a portable camera made it practicable for ordinary persons to see life as it really is.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Thomas Jefferson, indeed, while minister in France, had a costly private argument with M. de Buffon over the characteristics of the moose. Jefferson to Rutledge, September 9, 1788, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Monticello edition — Washington, 1904), 7: 137.

<sup>112</sup> Edward B. Clark, "Roosevelt on the nature fakirs," in *Everybody's magazine*, June, 1907, p. 770. The immediate reply of W. J. Long is in *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 23, 24, 1907; he returned indirectly to the attack in "The bull moose as a political totem," in *Independent*, July 11, 1912, p. 85. When Colonel Roosevelt walked through New Forest on June 9, 1910 with Sir Edward Grey, they identified forty-one forest birds and heard the note of twenty-three. *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography*, 334.

<sup>113</sup> The struggles of Audubon to find subscribers for his *Birds of America*, and his final resort to a British publisher, give a measure for early American interest in natural science. Washington Irving to Martin Van Buren, October 19, 1836, in *The life of John James Audubon, the naturalist*, edited by his widow (New York, 1869), 394.

<sup>114</sup> The followers of Daguerre made slow progress until, about 1878, the dry plate was perfected. *Outing*, December, 1889, p. 220. Immediately experimenters began to work towards series-photography and moving pictures. *San Francisco Chronicle* in *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 21, 1879. Nine years later the Eastman company

Such are the partial facts to illustrate the major currents in the rise of sport. They might be enlarged to include the college games, and football with its ups and downs. They might embrace the timely subject of marksmanship, and relate the facts about the Creedmoor range and the local and international matches of the National rifle association, which opened there in 1873.<sup>115</sup> They might tell of the coaching revival that paraded down Fifth avenue for the first time in 1876;<sup>116</sup> or of Bennett's introduction of polo<sup>117</sup> in the same year. They might mention the National archery association that tried to revive the Anglo-Saxon affection for the long bow, and that opened its series of national tournaments in Chicago, at the White Stockings park, before "quite a large and certainly a very select audience" in 1879.<sup>118</sup> They might recall the gathering of campers who had learned the charms of the Indian canoe, and formed the American canoe association at Lake George in 1880,<sup>119</sup> and continued for years, in camping meets, to profit by and popularize all water sports.

brought out its roll-film cameras and began to advertise "You press the button, we do the rest." *Harper's Weekly*, July 20, 1889, p. 583; *Harper's bazaar*, May 23, 1891, p. 407; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh edition), 21: 503. A photographers' association of America completed its organization and held its first national convention in Chicago in 1880. *Chicago Tribune*, August 24-27, 1880. Portraits of living game were shown at the fourth annual sportsmen's show. *Harper's Weekly*, January 22, 1898, p. 101. And a little later A. R. Dugmore could describe "A revolution in nature pictures," in *World's work*, November, 1900, p. 83.

<sup>115</sup> "The American Wimbledon," *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1873. General George W. Wingate, captain of the first international team, participated in the formation of a gigantic public schools athletic league in 1903. *Outing*, September, 1901, p. 616, May, 1908, p. 166. Luther H. Gulick, famous in Y. M. C. A. activities, and associate of General Wingate, became president in 1906 of the new Playground association of America, with Colonel Roosevelt and Jacob A. Riis as honorary officials. *Playground*, April, 1907, p. 7.

<sup>116</sup> Colonel De Lancay Lane expected to start his daily coach to Pelham Bridge on May 1, 1876. *New York Herald*, March 18, 1876.

<sup>117</sup> His Westchester polo club built a house at Jerome Park, and played inside the track. "Polo in America," in *Wildwood's magazine*, November, 1888, p. 10; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 24, 1876, p. 261; *New York Herald*, May 12, June 2, 1876.

<sup>118</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 1879; Maurice Thompson, "Bow-shooting," in *Scribner's magazine*, July, 1877, p. 273.

<sup>119</sup> *New York Herald*, August 5, 1880. Judge Nicholas Longworth, of Cincinnati, first vice-commodore, offered a tournament cup to the Western canoe association a few years later. Western canoe association, *Seventh annual yearbook* (1891), 22.

They might from a different angle record the interests of collectors and owners that turned the successive buildings at Madison Square Garden into the custody of sporting shows and gave to St. Gaudens's gold Diana on the tower a real significance as goddess of the newer chase. In 1895 a series of annual sportsmen's expositions was begun, to amuse the crowds and display the dealers' wares.<sup>120</sup> Already other shows had prepared the way for this. Greatest of all was the horse show, that began in 1883 to aid in defining classes and improving breeds of horses, and that took at least a decade to teach exhibitors and judges genuine types.<sup>121</sup> There had been a dog show — first of a long series — by the Westminster kennel club in 1877,<sup>122</sup> on whose benches the uninspiring pug gave way to the terriers and collies<sup>123</sup> of later preference, and in whose chambers exhibitors debated the merits of "bat" and "rose-bud" ears.<sup>124</sup> A poultry show appeared in these same precincts in 1887,<sup>125</sup> with a toy dog show in an annex;<sup>126</sup> and a cat show in the spring of 1895 was "an epoch in the history of the cat in America."<sup>127</sup>

There can be no question as to there having been this rise of

<sup>120</sup> George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Forest and stream*, and an active member of the Boone and Crockett club, was connected with the management of the first exposition, May 13-18, 1895. *New York Times*, December 16, 1894, p. 20. Subsequent expositions became, to a great extent, dealers' sporting goods exhibits. *Harper's Weekly*, January 29, 1898, p. 100; March 18, 1899, p. 276.

<sup>121</sup> *Topeka Commonwealth*, October 23, 1883; *New York Sun*, October 23, 1883. Alexander J. Cassatt, later president of the Pennsylvania railroad, but now gentleman-farmer at Haverford, exhibited one of the first hackneys seen in America, a "general purpose" type whose period lies between the rise of the modern macadam road and the advent of the automobile. *Harper's Weekly*, April 9, 1892, p. 348; *World's work*, July, 1901, p. 973; *Country life in America*, December, 1901, p. 41.

<sup>122</sup> The first dog show opened Tuesday, May 8, 1877, at the Hippodrome with some 1,300 dogs on exhibition. *New York Times*, May 8, 1877; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 26, 1877, p. 203. In later years Madison Square Garden was utilized.

<sup>123</sup> J. P. Morgan's collies, American-bred at his Cragston kennels, won the honors of 1894. *Harper's Weekly*, March 3, 1894, p. 215.

<sup>124</sup> The introduction of the French bull-dog about 1897 raised the debate over the shape to which the ears should conform. *Harper's Weekly*, February 26, 1898, p. 214.

<sup>125</sup> *New York Tribune*, December 15, 22, 1887.

<sup>126</sup> The American toy dog club was organized to conduct this show. *New York Tribune*, November 17, 1887, p. 5; *New York Herald*, May 26, 1888, p. 3.

<sup>127</sup> *Harper's bazaar*, May 11, 1895, p. 380; *New York World*, May 12, 1895.

sport. It obtrudes from the sources of the eighties, and had created in the daily press the clean-cut sporting page before 1890, giving sharp contrast to the papers of the seventies where sport was only general news, and thin at that. In nearly every game we play today there is evidence that between 1876 and 1893 playing expanded on a widening scale, and organization made its government quasi-national. A new generation appeared taking all this for granted, and living the rounded life unconscious of a change.

It was the open frontier that kept America young during its first century of national existence. Year after year the continuous pressure from the newer states, noisy, ill-informed, but irrepressible, had driven congress and the nation along the path of liberalism. The free ballot, the public school, the state university had kept America the land of opportunity; and however men despaired in their public utterances, their inner souls were conscious of this spark of youth and life. When the frontier closed in the eighties the habit of an open life was too strong to be changed offhand. The search for sport revealed a partial substitute for pioneer life. City congestion stimulated the need at this immediate moment, but without the cities the transition must any way have occurred. Baseball was already adopted in the small towns; the country club has produced its most numerous and typical examples away from the large cities and even in the remoter west whence the frontier has barely disappeared.

But the causes of the rise of sport, whether in the needs of city life, or in the automatic adaptation of a society whose old safety-valve, free land, was closing down, or in the aptitudes of a community inured to frontier conditions and now deprived of them, are of slighter consequence than its results upon America. No one can probe national character, personal conduct, public opinion of today without bringing out their difference from that which formerly prevailed. The hysteria of the period of the Spanish war and of Cleveland's Venezuela episode has sobered into better deliberation and balance, far enough from the ideal, but notably of higher tone. The moral indifference to methods of achievement, bred somewhat in our own

great war and dominant when men smiled at the cipher despatches or the star route frauds; or printed in their advertising pages the lying romances of quack doctors and patent medicines, is giving way to a real concern for honest methods; and those who would not of themselves reform are being squeezed by sheer force of public disapproval into a reluctant degree of compliance with the rules. Personal behavior, too has changed. A cleaner living and a lessened indulgence in strong drink come with the sharpened intellect and the acuter soul. We know that we shall live to see a dry America, and one of equal rights for all. And who shall say that when our women took up tennis and the bicycle they did not as well make the great stride towards real emancipation; or that the quickened pulse, the healthy glow, the honest self-respect of honest sport have not served in part to steady and inspire a new Americanism for a new century?

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